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175 ent Ranjit Singh's efforts for the settlement of the hill districts,
642 we come in contact with the family who exerted for so many years
631 an important influence in the Lâhor state—an influence which
much affected the English in their dealings with it—and between
whom and the English Government the relations that were entered
on constitute the foundation of the present political constitution
of the territories we speak of.

557 J. D. Cunningham, in his 'History of the Sikhs,'* shows that
175 from a brother of Ranjit Dev, Raja of Jummoo, were descended,
642 in the third generation, three brothers, Gulâb Singh, Dhiyân
631 Singh, and Suchet Singh. These three were young men at the
159 time when Ranjit Singh's rise to chief power at Lâhor made that
the most likely place for the advancement of those whose only
trade was fighting. The two elder brothers, Gulâb Singh and
Dhiyân Singh, came to Ranjit Singh's court with the object of
pushing their way as soldiers of fortune. Gulâb Singh first
became a *sowár*, or trooper, under Jemadár Khushâl Singh, a
trusted servant of Ranjit Singh's. I do not know what was
Dhiyân Singh's first step; but it was not long before he attracted
the attention of the ruler, for he was a young man of considerable
gifts of person as well as mental talents. He obtained the special
favour of Ranjit Singh, and before long was advanced to the
important post of deoḍhîwâlâ or deorhîwâlâ, that is to say, chief
[66] door-keeper. In a native court, a place of personal government,
the door-keeper, possessing as he does the power of giving or
restraining access to the chief, has considerable influence; this
influence Dhiyân Singh now exerted in "making a party," so as
by this means, as well as by his own exertions with the Maharaja
Ranjit Singh, to advance his family. The personal qualifications
of the brothers at the same time helped, and it was not long
before the fortunes of all three—for Suchet Singh had joined his
elder brothers—became well founded.

Gulâb Singh rose to the independent command of a troop, and
in one of the hill wars he distinguished himself by taking

* I have repeated in Appendix VI. the genealogy given by Cunningham.

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prisoner Ágá Ján, the Raja of Rájkot, who was then resisting the Sikh forces. For this service, and with the object of utilising those of the families of hill rajas who were attached to his government in keeping in subjection the tribes that had been giving trouble, Ranjít Singh conferred on Guláb Singh the rajaship of Jummoo, to be held as a fief. This was about the year 1820. On the brothers Dhiyán Singh and Suchet Singh was also bestowed the title of Raja, and they received, whether at this time or later I know not, a portion of territory to be held on the same terms as was Jummoo by Gulab Singh. Dhiyán Singh received Pinch as his principality, and Suchet Singh Rámnagar.

It is with Raja Gulab Singh that we are now chiefly concerned. While Dhiyán Singh remained at Ranjít Singh's court performing an important part in protecting the interests of the family by securing his own influence with the ruler, to whom they were all tributary, and on whom indeed they were still thoroughly dependent, Gulab Singh spent most of his time at Jummoo and in its neighbourhood, occupied first in consolidating and then in extending his power, though, as occasion required, he would, as was his bounden duty, join the Sikh army with his forces, and take part in their military operations.

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Gulab Singh's own immediate subjects had, by the continuance of disturbances, the absence of settled rule, become somewhat lawless; robbery and murder were common; it is said that at that time a cap or a pagri that a traveller might wear was enough for a temptation to plunder and violence. With a firm hand Gulab Singh put this down, and brought his country to such a state of quiet and security as makes it at this moment in that respect a pattern. As to the feudal chiefs around him, he in some cases—for what particular causes or with what excuses it is difficult at this time to trace—confiscated their fiefs and became direct ruler; in other cases he retained and attached to his government the nobles, while gradually lessening their political importance. The tendency of his government was always towards centralization. He was a man of stronger character than most of

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the rulers that had preceded him, and probably his experiences in the wider area of the Punjáb had taught him both the advantages and the feasibility of relatively diminishing the power of feudal subdivisions.

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Gulab Singh in later years came in contact with many Englishmen, and several of these have written their impressions of his character. I myself never saw him; he died before I came to Jummoo; but his doings and sayings were still much thought of there, and I endeavoured to form, from what I heard, an estimate of his character.

Of his powers as a soldier I was unable to form a clear judgment. He seems to have been thoroughly brave, but always careful and prudent. Though no great feats of arms are recorded of him,* yet he was generally successful. He was more ready to intrigue than to employ force; but when the necessity for fighting was clear, he proved almost as much at home in it as he was in diplomacy. A great part of his success was due to the wisdom he displayed in recognising the times when each could with most advantage be brought into play.

As an administrator he was better than most of those of his own time and neighbourhood, but yet the results of his rule do not give one the highest impression of his powers in this respect. He knew how to govern a country in the sense of making his authority respected all through it. For the carrying out of the further objects of good government he probably cared little; his experience had shown him no instance of their attainment, and possibly he had not in his mind the idea of a government different in kind from that which he succeeded in administering: for of all the governments within reach of his observation those were good in which the authority of the ruler was assured by force and the revenue came in punctually. On this principle he consolidated his power.

One of his chief faults was an unscrupulousness as to the means

* The defeat of the Lahor fort with a small force against the Sikh army, in the time of the discussions, is, however, a brilliant deed of his that now comes to my mind.

† i.e., the RAJAH OF JAMMU — ANALYST

of attaining his own objects; he did not draw back from the exercise of cruelty in the pursuit of them, but he was not wantonly cruel. An avariciousness always distinguished him; in the indulgence of the passion he was unable to take the wide view by which his subjects' wealth would be found compatible with the increase of his own.

Some qualities had Gulâb Singh which mitigated the efforts of an administration worked on the principles above denoted. He was always accessible, and was patient and ready to listen to complaints. He was much given to looking into details, so that the smallest thing might be brought before him and have his consideration. With the customary offering of a rupee as nazar anyone could get his ear; even in a crowd one could catch his eye by holding up a rupee and crying out "*Mahârâj, 'arz hai!*" that is, "Mahârâja, a petition!" He would pounce down like a hawk on the money, and having appropriated it would patiently hear out the petitioner. Once a man after this fashion making a complaint, when the Mahârâja was taking the rupee, closed his hand on it and said, "No, first hear what I have to say." Even this did not go beyond Gulâb Singh's patience; he waited till the fellow had told his tale and opened his hand; then taking the money he gave orders about the case.

The rise from comparatively low station to high position did not spoil him; that is to say, he did not become stuck-up with pride, nor did he often stand greatly on his dignity; indeed, he was ordinarily familiar and free with all classes, and was distinguished by that quality which in a ruler otherwise respected goes so far to conciliate the natives of India, that which they call *khalâsilizâ*, which may be translated "bonhomie." This is the more noteworthy as those faults he was free from are the ones most generally contracted by people of his caste who raise themselves in social rank.

This picture of Gulâb Singh's character is different from some accounts of him that have appeared in books that tell of the late history of the Panjâb. I have written from the impression I received from all I heard of him from servants or from subjects of

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his. To *fortify* my conclusions I will now quote from the 'History of the Sikhs,' by J. D. Cunningham, an author who wrote with rare impartiality, one who was able to divest himself of the prejudices of his own nation in estimating the qualities and the deeds of their enemies. Writing at the crisis of our relations with the Panjáb State, a time when Gulab Singh's name was in everyone's mouth, he says,* "In the course of this history there has more than once been occasion to allude to the unscrupulous character of Raja Gulab Singh; but it must not therefore be supposed that he is a man malevolently evil. He will, indeed, deceive an enemy and take his life without hesitation, and in the accumulation of money he will exercise many oppressions; but he must be judged with reference to the morality of his age and race and to the necessities of his position. If these allowances be made, Gulab Singh will be found an able and moderate man, who does little in an idle or wanton spirit, and who is not without some traits both of good humour and generosity of temper."

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Having thus seen Gulab Singh firmly fixed at Jummoo, we must, before tracing the acquisition by him of further territory, look to the early state of the other countries that now form part of the dominions under the government of Jummoo, beginning with Kashmir.

The Hindú history of Kashmir, which was brought into notice by Professor H. H. Wilson, tells of a succession of kings who ruled in the valley, and tells something of their relations with their neighbours. We cannot enter into these records, but of some of the events that have occurred in the last five centuries we will note the succession, since each change within that period has left its mark on the country recognizable by all at this day.

In the beginning of the fourteenth century after Christ the last Hindú king of Kashmir lost his throne. One Sháh Mír, his minister, a Muhammadan, displaced him and ruled under the name of Shams-ud-dín. For about two centuries and a half Kashmir remained independent, governed by its own Muhammadan rulers. Of these there were two most noted, whose names

* Cunningham's 'History of the Sikhs,' p. 282, note.

CHAPTER IV.—MODERN JAMMU & KASHMIR—1925-43.

With the accession in september 1925 of His Highness Raj Rajeshwar Maharajadhiraj Shri Maharaja Hari Singhji Bahadur, Inder Mahinder, Sipar-i-Saltanat-i-Inglishia to the throne, a new era in the history of the State begins. His Highness is the great-grandson of Maharaja Gulab Singhji and son of the late General Raja Sir Amar Singhji, younger brother of the late Maharaja. Born in 1895, he received education under a number of qualified European and Indian instructors. In 1908, he joined the Mayo College, Ajmer. After completing the full course of studies there, he received training in the Imperial Cadet Corps, Dehra Dun. His late Highness appointed him Commander-in-Chief of State forces in 1915, before he had attained the age of twenty. He took an active part in the training and equipping of the units despatched for service in the Great War and in sending reinforcements to keep them up to the sanctioned war strength. In 1922, he was appointed Senior Member of the then State Council, and a number of reforms were initiated by him in this capacity.

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On the occasion of the *Rajtilak* ceremony, which was performed at Jammu in February 1926, in the presence of distinguished guests including several Ruling Princes, His Highness announced a number of boons. One of the boons conferred on the land-holders the right to cut down and utilize all royal coniferous trees on areas assessed to land revenue; another extended from 3 months to 12 months in the year the right of the villagers to remove dead and fallen timber; and a third bestowed certain rights on village communities with regard to the land of land-holders dying without issue. The most important of the boons was the bestowal of *khalsa* land on village communities which had no *shamlat* (village commons) up to cent. per cent. of their holdings. His Highness also sanctioned on the occasion the extension of technical education to certain localities in both the provinces; the opening of more schools and hospitals; the provision of a special allotment every year for the supply of